

## Message Text

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 USNATO 3606

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, NATO, UR

SUBJECT: POLADS STUDY OF "PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE"

REF: A. STATE 141053 B. USNEEM USNATO 3151

1. AT JULY 1 MEETING, POLADS APPROVED TEXT OF "PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE" PAPER, WHICH WILL BE FORWARDED TO NAC FOR INFORMATION. DELAY IN APPROVAL WAS DUE TO UK SUGGESTIONS FOR MINOR ADMENDMENTS TO PARAS 7, 8, AND 11.

2. FOLLOWING IS FINAL TEXT OF "PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE" PAPER:

BEGIN TEXT:

THE SOVIET CONCEPT OF "PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE" FITS INTO THE OVERALL IDEOLOGY AND KIALECTIC OF MARXIST THEORY WHICH REGARDS THE VICTORY OF SOCIALISM OVER CAPITALISM AS INEVITABLE. IN THIS FRAMEWROK, THE PRINCIPLE OF "PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE" IS THERFORE OF DYNAMIC NATURE, AIMED AT RESHAPING RELATIONS BETWEEN STATES WITH DIFFERENT SOCIAL SYSTEMS. A TYPICAL FORMULATION IS TO BE FOUND IN THE COMMUNIQUE OF A MEETING BETWEEN REPRESENTATIVES OF THE EAST GERMAN SOCIALIST UNITY PARTY AND THE SPANISH COMMUNIST PARTY (PUBLISHED ON 3RD DECEMBER, 1974):

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" PUTTING INTO EFFECT THE PRINCIPLE OF "PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE" DOES NOT SIGNIFY THE MAINTENANCE OF THE SOCIAL POLITICAL STATUS QUO NOR THE END OF THE IDEOLOGICAL STRUGGLE BUT DOCNTRIBUTES TO THE CREATION OF MORE FAVOURABLE CONDITIONS

FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE CLASS STRUGGLE AND OF THE  
REVOLUTIONARY PROCESS IN THE CAPITALIST COUNTRIES."

2. THE CONCEPT OF A STATIC RELATIONSHIP, WHETHER BETWEEN  
CLASSES OR COUNTRIES, IS FOREIGN TO COMMUNIST THINKING. MARXIST-  
LENINIST IDEOLOGY POSTULATES A CONTINUING, INEVITABLE AND  
EVENTUALLY SUCCESSFUL STRUGGLE OF THE WORKING CLASSES AGAINST  
THE BOURGEOISIE AND BY EXTENSION OF THE "SOCIALIST" STATES AGAINST  
THE COUNTRIES WHERE "CAPITALISM" AS PERCEIVED BY MARXIST-  
LENINISTS HAS A DOMINATING INFLUENCE. AS EARLY AS THE PERIOD  
BEGINNING WITH THE CONSOLIDATION OF THE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION,  
HOWEVER, THE SOVIET LEADERSHIP FROM A POSITION OF RELATIVE  
WEAKNESS HAS HAD TO FACE THE FACT OF THE CONTINUED EXISTENCE OF  
WHAT THEY SAW AS A LARGELY HOSTILE "CAPITALIST" WORLD; IN  
THESE CIRCUMSTANCES THERE HAS BEEN A REALISTIC APPRECIATION  
OF THE FUTILITY OF TRYING TO DESTROY IT BY WAR. THE DOCTRINES OF  
"PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE" RESOLVES THIS CONTRADICTION; USED BY  
SOVIET LEADERS SINCE THE EARLY 1920S, IT WAS ELEVATED IN 1956  
FROM A CONVENIENT HISTORICAL INTERLUDE INTO A STATE OF INDEFINITE  
DURATION, THIS VIEW BECAME AND HAS SINCE REMAINED THE  
DOCTRINAL BASIS OF SOVIET POLICY TOWARDS WESTERN STATES. AS  
TRADITIONALLY DEFINED BY SOVIET IDEOLOGISTS, "PEACEFUL COEX-  
ISTENCE" IS THUS PEACEFUL ONLY IN THE SENSE THAT IT EXCLUDES  
GENERAL WAR, AND FORESEES COEXISTENCE ONLY UNTIL WHAT BREZHNEV  
HAS CALLED "THE TOTAL TRIUMPH OF SOCIALISM THROUGHOUT THE WORLD"  
OVER CAPITALISM. DURING THIS PERIOD OTHER FORMS OF STRUGGLE  
(POLITICAL, ECONOMIC, IDEOLOGICAL AND IN SOME CASES  
LOCAL WARS) ARE NOT EXCLUDED AND, ACCORDING TO SOME AUTHORITIES  
INCLUDING BREZHNEV HIMSELF, MUST ACTUALLY BE INTENSIFIED.  
"PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE APPEARS AS A DIALECTICAL PHENOMENON  
WHICH CONTAINS ELEMENTS BOTH OF COOPERATION AND OF STRUGGLE...  
IT IS ABOVE ALL A SPECIFIC FORM OF THE CLASS STRUGGLE IN THE INTER-  
NATIONAL ARENA." IT IS NOTEWORTHY THAT SOVIET LEADERS RECOMMEND  
SOVIET-FINNISH RELATIONS AS A MODEL OF "PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE".

3. A FURTHER DIFFICULTY FOR WESTERN COUNTRIES IN THE  
SOVIET DOCTRINE OF "PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE" HAS LAIN IN ITS  
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APPLICATION ONLY TO RELATIONS BETWEEN STATES OF DIFFERENT SOCIAL  
SYSTEMS. INSIDE THE SOVIET CAMP IT IS "PROLETARIAN" OR "  
SOCIALIST" INTERNATIONALISM WHICH APPLIES. ACCORDING TO THE ABOVE  
INTERPRETATION THE "CLASS" CHARACTER OF INTRA-COMMUNIST  
RELATIONS REQUIRES THAT NATIONAL INTERESTS OF COMMUNIST STATES  
BE SUBORDINATED TO THE REQUIREMENTS OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST  
CAUSE, AND THAT THE TRANSITION FROM CAPITALISM TO SOCIALISM  
ONCE MADE, BE IRREVERSIBLE.

4. IN ATTEMPTING TO ELABORATE "PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE" AS  
PART OF A LEGAL SYSTEM THE SOVIETS PURPORT TO REWRITE FUNDAMENTAL  
PRINCIPLES OF INTERNATIONAL LAW AND APPLY THEM IN A DIS-  
CRIMINATORY WAY ACCORDING TO THE POLITICAL, ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL

SYSTEM OF THE COUNTRY IN QUESTION.

5. THE SECTION DEALING WITH BILATERAL RELATIONS OF THE JOINT STATEMENT ISSUED AT THE END OF PRIME MINISTER WILSONS VISIT TO MOSCOW, 17TH FEBRUARY, 1975 ( AS WELL AS THE ANGLO-SOVIET PROTOCOL ON CONSULTATIONS) CONTAINED THE FOLLOWING PARAGRAPH:

" THE TWO SIDES DECLARED THEIR ADHERENCE TO THE PRINCIPLES OF PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE , WHICH MEANS LONG- TERM, FRUITFUL AND MUTUALLY BENEFICIAL COOPERATION BETWEEN STATES, IRRESPECTIVE OF THEIR POLITICAL, ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL SYSTEMS, ON THE BASIS OF FULL EQUALITY AND MUTUAL RESPECT."

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6. SUCH A WORDING WHICH, MOREOVER, IS NOT UNPRECEDENTED APPEARS TO BE DESIGNED TO MAKE THE SOVIET DEFINITION OF THE DOCTRINE OF "PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE" CONSISTENT WITH WESTERN IDEAS OF DETENTE, SINCE IT EQUATES "PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE" WITH CO-OPERATION, WHICH MEANS MORE THAN MERELY THE AVOIDANCE OF GLOBAL WAR; IT REFERS TO "FULL EQUALITY AND MUTUAL RESPECT" WHICH IS HARDLY COMPATIBLE WITH CONTINUED IDEOLOGICAL, POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC STRUGGLE; MOREOVER, THIS VERSION APPLIES "PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE" TO "STATES", WHICH DOES NOT RULE OUT ITS APPLICATION AMONG THE SOCIALIST STATES.

7. BUT THERE IS NOTHING NEW OF THE SOVIETS IN EQUATING THE IDEA OF COEXISTENCE WITH THAT OF CO-OPERATION. THE ABSENCE OF REFERENCE TO THE IDEOLOGICAL STRUGGLE WOULD CERTAINLY NOT IMPLY THAT THE KREMLIN HAD MODIFIED ITS VIEW THAT ITS POLICY TOWARDS THE WEST IS NOT INCONSISTENT WITH THE CONTINUATION OF THE IDEOLOGICAL STRUGGLE AND ITS CONTROL OVER OTHER SOCIALIST COUNTRIES. THIS REVEALS THE HEGEMONISM AND DUPLICITY INHERENT IN THE SOVIET CONCEPT OF "PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE" AND SHEDS LIGHT

ON THE MORE QUESTIONABLE ASPECTS OF SOVIET "DETENTE POLICY".

8. IT IS PROBABLE THAT SUCH ADJUSTMENTS IN SOVIET FORMULATIONS ON "PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE" ARE DESIGNED TO MEET WESTERN SENSITIVITIES. HOWEVER, ANY SUCH NEW FORMULATIONS WOULD BE UNLIKELY TO AFFECT SIGNIFICANTLY SOVIET INTERNATIONAL BEHAVIOUR WHEN THE USSR SEES ITS INTERESTS AS SERIOUSLY THREATENED. THE  
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SOVIETS HAVE IN FACT MADE PERSISTENT EFFORTS TO GET "PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE" ENDORSED AS A PRINCIPLE OF INTERNATIONAL LAW; BUT, IN PROMOTING THE CONCEPT INTERNATIONALLY, THEY HAVE IN GENERAL BEEN CAREFUL TO SUPPRESS ITS IDEOLOGICAL OVERTONES AND TO IDENTIFY IT EXCLUSIVELY WITH PRINCIPLES IN LINE WITH WESTERN IDEAS OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS.

9. HOWEVER, THERE HAVE RECENTLY BEEN SEVERAL CASES WHERE SOVIET STATEMENTS ON INTERNATIONAL EVENTS HAVE TAKEN ON A MORE AGGRESSIVE TONE AND SEEMED TO BE DETERMINED MORE BY IDEOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS THAN BY A DESIRE FOR POLITICAL CO-OPERATION WITH THE WEST: IN HIS ADDRESS TO THE 11TH CONGRESS OF THE HUNGARIAN COMMUNIST PARTY ON 16TH MARCH, BREZHNEV TOOK THE OCCASION TO RESTATE THE SOVIET VIEW OF "PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE" IN TERMS CLOSER TO TRADITIONAL PRE-WILSON VISIT FORMULATIONS. HE EMPHASISED THE ELEMENT OF IDEOLOGICAL CONFLICT AND MADE IT CLEAR THAT THE PRINCIPLES OF COEXISTENCE ONLY APPLIED BETWEEN STATES WITH DIFFERENT SOCIAL SYSTEMS, BUT NOT WITHIN THE COMMUNIST CAMP. THIS CLARIFICATION MIGHT BE SEEN AS AN ATTEMPT TO PUBLICLY REDRESS THE BALANCE IN THE INTERPRETATION OF "PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE" ALONG THE MORE TRADITIONAL SOVIET LINES OF THE IDEOLOGICAL STRUGGLE AND THE "BREZHNEV DOCTRINE". ANOTHER EXAMPLE OF THIS TREND IS THE ASSESSMENT IN "PRAVDA" ON 8TH APRIL OF THE RESULTS OF THE "PEACE PROGRAMME" ADOPTED FOUR YEARS AGO BY THE 24TH PARTY CONGRESS: PRAVDA STATES THAT THE INSEPARABLE LINK BETWEEN THE STRUGGLE FOR PEACE AND THE NATIONS\* ASPIRATIONS FOR SOCIAL AND NATIONAL LIBERATION HAS ALWAYS BEEN AND WILL CONTINUE TO BE THE BASIS OF THE POLICY OF THE SOVIET CP.

#### CONCLUSION

10. FOR THE USSR, THE INTERDEPENDENCE BETWEEN THE PRINCIPLES OF "PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM" AND OF "PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE" REMAINS VALID. RECENT SOVIET STATEMENTS ON BOTH PRINCIPLES REFLECT IN NO WAY A CHANGE IN DOCTRINE. IT WOULD BE POLITICALLY IMPOSSIBLE FOR SOVIET LEADERS SIMPLY TO DISREGARD EITHER ONE OF THEM, BEING MAJOR COMPONENTS OF THEIR IDEOLOGY, JUST TO MEET THE INTEREST OF THE SOVIET STATE IN DETENTE. IN SOVIET MINDS "PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE" REMAINS AN EXPRESSION OF DIALECTIC MOMENTUM, OF NECESSITY FOR STRUGGLE AND FOR THE EXPLOITATION OF WEAKNESS OR DIVISION IN THE NON-COMMUNIST WORLD, SHORT OF WAR. ON THE  
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OTHER HAND, THE SOVIETS CAN SEE THEIR INTERESTS FURTHERED THROUGH CO-OPERATION IN CERTAIN AREAS, AND THE "NECESSITY FOR STRUGGLE AND FOR THE EXPLOITATION OF WEAKNESS OR DIVISION IN THE NON-COMMUNIST WORLD" IS TEMPERED IN ACTUAL CASES BY OVERALL CONSTRAINTS ON SOVIET ACTION.

11. DURING THE DISCUSSIONS ON THIS SUBJECT IN THE POLITICAL COMMITTEE, ALL DELEGATIONS AGREED THAT THE SOVIET CONCEPT OF "PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE" MUST NOT BE ACCORDED THE STATUS OF A PRINCIPLE OF INTERNATIONAL LAW. MOST OF THEM WERE OF THE VIEW THAT IT WOULD BE UNWISE TO IMPLY ANY FORMAL WESTERN APPROVAL OF VARIOUS SOVIET DEFINITIONS OF "PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE" AS IT WOULD BE UNREALISTIC TO BELIEVE THAT, IRRESPECTIVE OF THE DEFINITION EMPLOYED, THE WEST COULD PERSUADE THE SOVIET UNION AND ITS ALLIES TO ACCEPT A DIFFERENT CONCEPT OF "PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE" FROM THAT WHICH THEY HAD CONSISTENTLY CHAMPIONED. OTHER DELEGATIONS MAINTAINED, HOWEVER, THAT THERE MIGHT BE ADVANTAGE IN SOME BILATERAL CONTEXTS IN ATTACHING AN ACCEPTABLE DEFINITION TO THE CONCEPT, PARTICULARLY IF THIS WOULD SERVE TO SECURE PUBLIC SOVIET COMMITMENT TO THE PROPOSITION THAT "PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE" SHOULD ALSO APPLY TO THE RELATIONS BETWEEN "SOCIALIST STATES". THE COMMITTEE AGREED THAT, IN ANY CASE, THE CONCEPTS OF DETENTE, ENTENTE AND CO-OPERATION, WHICH ARE COMPLEMENTARY, SHOULD BE FAVOURED OVER THE AMBIGUOUS CONCEPT OF "PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE".

12. THIS REPORT IS FORWARDED FOR THE INFORMATION OF THE COUNCIL.

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## Message Attributes

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